

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

SAM-01 SAB-01 AID-05 ACDA-10 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00

FEAE-00 /096 W

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O R 211920Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6048

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION GENEVA

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GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, XF

SUBJECT: SADDAT INTERVIEW IN FRENCH NEWSPAPER

1. THE JANUARY 22 ISSUE OF LE MONDE CARRIES A LONG, WIDE-RANGING INTERVIEW OF EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADDAT BY CORRESPONDENTS ERIC ROULEAU AND J. P. PERONCEL-HUGOZ. INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE MOST INTERESTING QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOWS:

2. " ... QUESTION: IS IT TRUE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT YOU ARE DEMANDING THE SIMULTANEOUS WITHDRAWAL DURING THE

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NEXT THREE MONTHS OF ISRAELI FORCES IN THE SINAI, ON

THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, AND IN THE WEST BANK?

3. ANSWER: YES, BUT I AM PREPARED IF NECESSARY TO ACCEPT SUCCESSIVE WITHDRAWALS. THE ESSENTIAL FOR US IS TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF PEACE. THE SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST IS EXPLOSIVE. WE MUST GO VERY QUICKLY; OTHERWISE THE IRREPARABLE WILL HAPPEN.

4. Q: WHAT ARE YOU ASKING IMMEDIATELY OF ISRAEL?

5. THE RESTITUTION OF MITLA AND GIDI HILLS IN THE SINAI AS WELL AS THE ABOU - RODEISS OIL FIELDS. THAT IS A MINIMUM FOR US. I AM HOPING TO RECEIVE A REPLY ON THIS SUBJECT FROM WASHINGTON AT ANY MOMENT ....

6. ... Q: CERTAIN PEOPLE REPROACH YOU FOR HAVING TOO MUCH CONFIDENCE IN MR. KISSINGER.

7. OF ALL THE AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF STATE WITH WHOM WE HAVE HAD RELATIONS OVER 20 YEARS -- NOTABLY MESSRS. DULLES, RUSH AND ROGERS -- MR. KISSINGER HAS SHOWN HIMSELF TO BE THE MOST CLAIRVOYANT, THE MOST SUBTLE IN HIS JUDGMENTS, AND THE MOST LOYAL MAN. HE PROMISES ONLY WHAT HE CAN DELIVER. HE HAS RESPECTED ALL HIS ENGAGEMENTS TO US. IT IS TRUE THAT THE WATERGATE AFFAIR, THE INTERNAL CRISES IN THE U.S. HAVE SLOWED DOWN HIS EFFORTS FOR PEACE, BUT I AM CERTAIN THAT HE WILL NOT DISAPPOINT US. HOWEVER, EVEN SUPPOSING THAT HENRY IS NOT THE MAN THAT I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED, DO YOU THINK THAT WE HAVE ANY OTHER ALTERNATIVE TO AMERICAN MEDIATION? I DO NOT SAY THAT THE USSR HAS NO ROLE TO PLAY BUT IT MUST BE ADMITTED THAT THE U.S. HOLDS MOST OF THE TRUMPS, SINCE ISRAEL DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON IT.

8. Q: DO YOU THEREFORE THINK THAT WASHINGTON IS IN A POSITION TO EXERCISE PRESSURE ON THE JEWISH STATE?

9. A: CERTAINLY I BELIEVE THAT. BUT WE ARE NOT ASKING THE AMERICANS TO END THEIR PRIVELEGED RELATIONS WITH THE UNCLASSIFIED

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ISRAELIS. WE ONLY WISH THAT THEY INTERVENE TO PREVENT AN EXPLOSION WHICH RISKS LEADING THEM TO CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIETS. DON'T MISUNDERSTAND ME. I HAVE NO INTENTION OF ENTERING INTO A DISPUTE WITH THE UNITED STATES OR ANY OTHER SUPER POWER. I KNOW MY LIMITS. I SEEK ON THE CONTRARY TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS BOTH WITH WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW BECAUSE IT IS IN EGYPT'S INTEREST TO DO SO. IT IS TRUE THAT AT THE

VLADIVOSTOK SUMMIT MESSRS. FORD AND BREZHNEV COULD NOT  
AGREE ON THE PROCEDURE TO FOLLOW TO REACH A SOLUTION  
IN THE NEAR EAST. THE FORMER IS FAVORABLE TO A STEP BY  
STEP SOLUTION WHILE THE SECOND IS INSISTANT THAT THE  
WHOLE PROBLEM BE SUBMITTED TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE.  
FOR MY PART, I DO NOT THINK THAT THE TWO METHODS ARE  
CONTRADICTORY. WE SHALL CONTINUE OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH  
A VIEW TO RECUPERATING PART OF THE LOST  
TERRITORIES AND WE SHALL GO TO GENEVA THE DAY WHEN IT  
WILL BE POSSIBLE TO SIGN A DEFINITIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

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FEAE-00 /096 W

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O R 211920Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6049

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

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10. Q: HOWEVER, YOUR RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW ARE GETTING WORSE. WHAT EXACTLY ARE THE DIFFERENCES THAT SEPARATE YOU FROM YOUR SOVIET ALLIES?

11. A: FIRST, THEY WERE AND REMAIN OPPOSED TO ANY MILITARY ACTION, EVEN LIMITED, AGAINST ISRAEL. THEY THUS REFUSE TO DELIVER THE MILITARY MATERIAL WHICH WE NEED. THUS IN 1971 -- THE YEAR THAT I HAD ANNOUNCED AS BEING DECISIVE -- THEY KEPT ME FROM OPENING HOSTILITIES BY A VERY SIMPLE MEANS: THEY FAILED TO HONOR THE ARMS CONTRACTS WHICH HAD BEEN SIGNED. TODAY, UNCLASSIFIED

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OUR DIFFERENCES COVER VARIOUS AREAS, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL. THEY ACCUSE ME NOTABLY OF LEADING AN ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN IN THE NEAR EAST IN ORDER TO UNDERMINE THEIR POSITIONS IN THE REGION. HOWEVER, IT IS MY DUTY TO MAKE PUBLIC OUR GRIEVANCES, TO INFORM THE EGYPTIAN AND OTHER ARAB PEOPLES OF THE DIFFICULTIES WITH WHICH WE ARE FACED. WHY IS IT NECESSARY FOR THEM TO TAKE OFFENSE AT CRITICISM WHICH IS ONLY NATURAL IN RELATIONS BETWEEN ALLIES? THEY ALSO REPROACH ME FOR OPPOSING THE CONVOCAION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WHICH IS CONTRARY TO THE TRUTH.

ON THE ECONOMIC PLANE THEY DO NOT GIVE THE MEANS TO OVERCOME THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR, OF THE DESTRUCTION WHICH THE ENEMY INFLICTED ON US, OF WORLD INFLATION. LAST YEAR WE HAD TO REPAY 80 MILLION EGYPTIAN POUNDS FOR THE PARTIAL SETTLEMENT OF THE DEBTS THAT WE HAD CONTRACTED FOR THE PURCHASE OF ARMS AND HEAVY EQUIPMENT. THIS YEAR, WE ASKED THEM FOR A TEN YEAR MORITORIUM SIMILAR TO THE ONE GRANTED TO SYRIA WHILE EXPLAINING THAT OUR INVESTMENT IN INFRASTRUCTURE DID NOT ALLOW US TO HONOR THE PAYMENTS SCHEDULE, BUT THEY TURNED A DEAF EAR, EVEN THOUGH OUR FINANCIAL PROBLEMS ARE A THOUSAND TIMES WORSE THAN THOSE OF OUR SYRIAN BROTHERS.

IN THE MILITARY DOMAIN, THEY REFUSED TO REPLACE THE MATERIAL THAT WE LOST DURING THE OCTOBER WAR OR TO DELIVER TO US THE SOPHISTICATED, LATE MODEL ARMS THAT THEY FURNISHED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY TO SYRIA. ISRAEL, FOR ITS PART, RECEIVED FROM THE U.S. ALL THAT IT NEEDED TO THE POINT THAT SOME IN WASHINGTON COMPLAINED OF THE FACT THAT THE JEWISH STATE HAD EMPTIED AMERICAN ARSENALS, AND I HAVE ONLY CITED EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATING THE SOVIETS UNFRIENDLY ATTITUDES TOWARD US ....

12. Q: ... DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE ARAB STATES WILL HAVE RECOURSE TO THE OIL ARM IN THE FORM OF REPRISALS,

AND IN SUCH AN EVENTUALITY, WOULD EUROPE BE SPARED?

13. A: I ANSWER YOUR TWO QUESTIONS BY THE AFFIRMATIVE. IT WOULD BE ABSURD TO SANCTION A COUNTRY LIKE FRANCE WHOSE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT IS UNCLASSIFIED

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OBJECTIVE. IN ANY CASE, WE SHALL BE REASONABLE, AS WE WERE DURING THE OCTOBER WAR WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF STRANGLING THE WESTERN ECONOMY CONTRARY TO WHAT THE AMERICAN LEADERS PRETEND.

14. Q: DO YOU TAKE SERIOUSLY THE THREATS OF MESSRS. FORD AND KISSINGER ABOUT AN EVENTUAL AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE NEAR EAST?

14. A: HENRY WAS WRONG TO USE SUCH LANGUAGE. THE GUN-BOAT DIPLOMACY OF THE 19TH CENTURY IS INCONCEIVABLE IN THE CURRENT WORLD SITUATION. DO YOU RECALL THE SAD END TO THE TRIPARTITE AGGRESSION AGAINST EGYPT IN 1956? DO YOU THINK WE WOULD REMAIN WITH ARMS FOLDED IN THE FACE OF AN AMERICAN MILITARY INTERVENTION? THE U.S. HAS BEEN WARNED: THE ARABS WILL BURN THE PETROLEUM WELLS IF THEY ARE VICTIMS OF AN ARMED AGGRESSION.

15. Q: ISRAEL MAINTAINS THAT IT WILL GO VERY FAR IN ITS CONCESSIONS IF THE ARABS AGREE TO OFFER HER A TOTAL PEACE BY ACCEPTING NOTABLY TO ESTABLISH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. WOULD YOU BE READY TO ENVISAGE SUCH A SOLUTION?

16. A: I AM PREPARED TO CONCLUDE A PEACE ACCORD WITH ISRAEL AND TO RESPECT THE ENGAGEMENTS UNDERTAKEN IN SUCH AN ACCORD. HOWEVER, I THINK THAT IT IS STILL TOO SOON TO SPEAK OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND OPEN BORDERS. THE BITTERNESS AND THE HATE ACCUMULATED OVER 26 YEARS OF BLOODY CONFLICT MUST FIRST BE STAMPED OUT. I LEAVE TO THE NEXT GENERATION THE CARE OF DECIDING

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WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE NOT ONLY TO CO-EXIST BUT TO  
COOPERATE WITH THE ISRAELI STATE. EVERYTHING DEPENDS  
OF COURSE ON ISRAEL'S COMPORTMENT AFTER THE ESTABLISH-  
MENT OF PEACE.

17. Q: UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, WOULD YOU BE READY TO  
GIVE ISRAEL GUARANTEES FOR ITS SECURITY BY FOR EXAMPLE  
LEAVING THE CONTROL OVER SHARM - EL - SHEIKH?

18. A: SHARM - EL - SHEIKH HAS NO STRATEGIC VALUE  
AS SHOWN BY THE OCTOBER WAR. WHAT GOOD WOULD IT BE  
TO OCCUPY SHARM - EL - SHEIKH WHEN THE ARABS ARE ABLE  
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TO CLOSE THE STRAIGHTS OF BAB - EL - MANDEB AT THE  
SOUTHERN END OF THE RED SEA?

19. Q: WOULD YOU ACCEPT DEMILITARIZATION OF THE

SINAI?

20. A: YES, IF ISRAEL AGREES TO AN ANALOGOUS MEASURE  
ON AN EQUAL PROPORTION OF ITS OWN TERRITORY. BUT  
BE ASSURED THAT NOTHING IS WORTH INTERNATIONAL GUARANT-  
EES TO ASSURE THE SECURITY BOTH OF ISRAEL AND OF ITS  
ARAB NEIGHBORS. THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR ARE  
DISPOSED TO JOINTLY FURNISHING SUCH GUARANTEES WHICH  
WOULD BE APPROVED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY  
COUNCIL AND IF DESIRED, BY THE WHOLE OF THE UNITED  
NATIONS ...."  
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## Message Attributes

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